

12  
*Trade in America 24*  
**REFLECTIONS,**  
**ON THE**  
**AMERICAN CONTEST;**

**IN WHICH**  
**The Consequence of a FORCED SUBMISSION,**

**A N D**  
**The Means of a LASTING RECONCILIATION**  
**are pointed out,**

**COMMUNICATED**

**By L E T T E R**

**T O A**

**MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT,**  
**SOME TIME SINCE,**

**A N D N O W**

**A D D R E S S E D T O**

**EDMUND BURKE, Esq.**

**By A. M.**

**L O N D O N :**

**Printed for J. BEW, No. 28, Pater-noster-Row.**

**M D C C L X X V I .**

E R R A T A.

Page iii, line 15, in sentiments, dele s. P. vii, l. 8, for momentanous read *momentaneous*. P. 6, l. 8, for people read *clasi*. P. 23, l. 17, after to dele *the*. P. 26, l. 18, after Britain insert a *semi-colon*. P. 29, l. 24, for would read *will*.



T O

## EDMUND BURKE, Esq.

**T**HOUGH that rhetorical excellence, with the lustre of which your enemies strive to make the world blind, to your merit as a Senator and Statesman, constitutes your name an ornament to the most respectable performance. Neither this consideration, nor yet the predilection of friendship, have induced me to prefix that name to a writing, by the patronage of which it has nothing to gain.

But as it is from minds possessing fidelity to the public will and capacity to turn every hint to its advantage; comprehension, which taking in the future and the past, will not look on enquiry into consequences as idle speculation, and liberality of sentiments which will do justice to the import and intention even of opinions, to which it does not assent. As it is from such, I say, that I hope or wish for any approbation, I shall be justified in inscribing these sheets to you. If they meet  
with

with a favourable reception, I shall have no reason to be ashamed of having sometime since presented a copy of them to a Secretary of State, nor even of letting them go to the press; for to appear in such company (the only time I am likely to do so in print) will be an honour to

Your most humble

and obedient Servant,

*A. M.*

*A D.*



## ADVERTISEMENT.

I Should not offer to print what was written so long ago, on a subject so much canvassed since, had I not been assured, by some whose opinions I respect, that the track I take, not being a beaten one, may open new points of view: and it is as useful to consider for what we continue, as for what we begin, a war.

I enter not into the question of right, or discussions about trade, taking only this postulatum, "That the colony trade is worth preserving, and having no particular administration to censure or defend, look on the measures of all as national measures." I hereby avoid a repetition of many things, now familiar to every one, and a departure from the main question, viz. Whether it is good policy to enforce the laws made for the purpose of a revenue?

Men of business, taken up with the execution of measures, are apt to regard enquiries into their remote consequences as idle speculations: hence wars are carried on without a fixed object, ambition and private interest usurp the place of public policy, and the end is lost in the means.

Only taking the liberty to make a very few corrections, and to throw some of the notes into the text, I prefer giving these thoughts in the manner in which they were at first communicated, because it arose from the genuine impression of the sentiments of the colonists, made on me by numberless conversations, with people of all sorts in the great towns, and through all the country from Virginia northwards, at a time when the subject of their connection was in every one's mouth, from 1763 to 1768. And the minds of men are worth attending to. Power itself on any other basis tumbles at a slight shock.

Note. If I use the word Constitution; I mean Fundamental Constitution, as described by Montesquieu.

TO

TO

## LORD GEORGE GERMAINE.

MY LORD,

**I**T has ever been a characteristic of the Great Man to listen to advice. Conscious of his own superiority, he is not ashamed to be informed by others; and of his ability to select the best, is not afraid to look at objects in every point of view. These considerations encourage me to lay even my reflections before Lord George Germaine, to whom (fortunately, I hope, for this empire) the subject now peculiarly belongs.

They were given six years ago by way of letter to a friend, a member of parliament, and a well-wisher to his king and country, as the result of my observations in the colonies, and some attention to the subject. They were thrown into the present form merely as a copy for my own satisfaction: for so hard is it to extend European ideas, to a just estimation of the people or the country of America, that the subject then scarcely commanded attention.

Time has proved, that I formed just ideas of their opinions, and their circumstances. To your lordship is submitted, whether my  
con-

conclusions are justly drawn, and whether the mode of treating the colonies here pointed out, would not have been founded on true policy.

Though the season for such accommodation as I proposed is now passed, the principles on which it should be made are eternal, and founded on the nature of things—do not depend on momentaneous success. If we had their armies shut up, as the Romans were in the “*Furcæ Caudinæ*,” I would give the advice of the old Samnite, “To let them all go free,” and make that freedom from European controul, which their countrymen will one day have, an Act of Royal Generosity. The sons of those to whom their forfeited lands may be given, will be as inveterate opposers of British Authority, as the present possessors, and only serve to recruit their numbers.

To bring the war to a conclusion, there are, in my humble opinion, but three ways; first, adopting the principles here recommended, which implies, a settlement to which the Americans shall freely consent, for support of Government and sanction of the regulatory laws; repealing the obnoxious acts, and throwing the colonies into their former separation. Secondly, disclaiming all compatriotism with any colony which shall not submit to the unlimited authority of Parliament. Thirdly, preparing a force fit to undertake the conquest of a great country; all lesser attempts being disgraceful and vain.

If

If the first method is chosen, and a dependance offered within their own professions, the war is reduced to a contest for glory ; on which ground, if the American leaders maintain it, it will be an avowal of ambition fatal to their union there, and popularity in Europe. How our honour is likely to be affected by its continuance, as well as the mode and point of time for making this offer with dignity, will be best decided by those who are intimately acquainted with the present circumstances of it.

To one who never took his Creed from any man or party, the name of Patriot is too unfashionable to be an object of ambition ; and I have no pretence to literary fame. The tenour of those reflections shew they were written with a view to neither ; and if the matter does not recommend them, and their being written at a time when party heat could give me no bias ; I hope a will to give the best advice, and a zeal for the honour and interest of King and Country are manifest enough, to be some apology for their defects.

In that zeal those, who by partial, interested, or inconsiderate accounts, urged the Ministry to the measures pursued, with means so inadequate and precarious, do not surpass him who is with the greatest deference to your Lordship's high rank and distinguished abilities.

Your Lordship's most obedient Servant,

*A. M.*



CHESTER 1769.

**M**Y attention is so taken up with the service in which I am engaged, that it is as impossible to collect and arrange my former reflections on the affairs of America, as it is to put them in a dress worthy of the subject, or the person to whom I write. But whatever may awaken to a sense of its importance should now be urged; the present session may decide for posterity.\*

Too many at home believed, that the burden, and inconvenience of the duty, were the principal grounds of the Americans opposition to the Stamp Act. In their public prints it is true, every thing which could be advanced by way of objection, was urged against it. But the principle on which their opposition was founded, and to which they uniformly adhered, was, "That no tax could constitutionally be imposed on them without their own consent."

Whether this principle be just, or whether their situation divests them of the privileges

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which

\* Session 1767.

which their fellow subjects on this side the Atlantic enjoy; whether our taxation law, or any of our late laws respecting America, were justifiable or well-timed, I shall not examine. But if any tax were to be imposed, none could have been better chosen than the stamp duty: 'twas light (except on some articles in the continent) and executed itself. Neither fines, imprisonments, or seizures, were necessary. The invalidation of unstamped paper securities ensured its operation, and the act was executed, if ever the stamps got a place for emission.

When that tax failed, we should have attempted no other, until a revolution in the minds of the Americans had convinced them of our right, or 'till change of circumstances had made the exercise of such right desirable to a majority of them.

In giving it up as we did, we lost the partizans of English authority amongst the natives,\* and made the zeal of the few European sticklers for it, ridiculous. But when we once gave it up, we should have acted consistently; we should have left ourselves the merit of a voluntary repeal, and content with  
declaring

\* I would not be understood, the Americans would have submitted had we persisted; for, by all I could hear or see amongst them, they were as determined to resist then as now: and, I believe, a requisition to acknowledge the unlimited supremacy of parliament would have then met with the fate of Lord Milborough's letter.

declaring our right paused awhile before we passed a law, to which, in effect the same, with some additional objections may be made: that law, I mean, which, as well as on tea, lays a duty on some of our own manufactures.

Was not this telling them, “ we cannot force you to pay the duty in the most eligible manner, but we’ll have it out of you some way?” Such sentiments are as unbecoming the power, as unworthy the magnanimity of the British nation. Did we mean to impose upon a people, so enlightened as the Americans? so thoroughly awakened to the subject? and among whom the liberty of the press is as uncontrouled, the people as jealous, ministers as suspected, and writers as prompt, as in Britain itself? If we did, we must acknowledge our ignorance of them.

A digression here, for the information of some readers, will be more admissible than the frequent interruption of notes. Knowledge in government, trade, arts, and sciences, has of late out ran population. Beside six colleges distributed from Cambridge, near Boston, to Williamsburg, in Virginia, wherein many, not intended for the learned professions, are initiated in the usual studies: the variety of their governments and sects; their intercourse with one another, as well as with Britain, (since the beginning

ginning of last war) and the number of Europeans of all sorts coming among them, together with their foreign trade, contribute greatly to open the minds of men. Circumstances in many respects similar, gave to the ancient Greeks a superiority over their cotemporaries, though their divisions in corrupt times weakened their resistance against external force.

The twelve confederate colonies, in which a rebellion is declared to exist, are, (beginning from the north) Massachusets's, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Jerseys, Pensylvania, Maryland, Virginia, the two Carolinas, and Georgia.

These twelve associated colonies, to the four northern of which the name of New England is appropriated, occupy a sea coast of at least a thousand miles from north-east to south-west, with a great number of bays, rivers, and creeks; and contain about 2500,000 souls. Of the numberless towns which carry on trade, ship-building, or fishery, none deserve the name of city, except Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, each of which, in size and number of inhabitants, may be compared to Manchester or Liverpool. On the New England coast, the master of every house near which a vessel can come, has at least a share in a sloop, schooner, or smack; and in each creek you see craft of some kind building. The great roads  
leading



leading from one government to another, exhibit in every circumstance rather the appearance of a thriving old country than a new one. The contiguous settlements run unequally backwards, some to a hundred and fifty, some not to fifty miles from the sea, with great variety in their population and appearance as in all countries. There is no setting exact boundaries, the outsetlers not being regulated as the French were, but following the convenience of rivers, soil, and situation; and sometimes the great roads of communication, as that to Fort Pitt, Oswego, and Canada. The most remote were greatly exposed to the savages, and, in the late wars, under a necessity of becoming soldiers; so that of late (their mode of life divided between hunting and agriculture contributing) they are matches for the Indians in their own way; especially the Virginians, who have extended their habitations beyond the Allegany mountains. In the southern colonies, property is more unequally divided than in the northern; and the rich planters cultivate their rice and tobacco lands by droves of negroes, as in the West Indies, and live in the splendid and expensive stile of the West Indians. In general, those of the first class in all the provinces are bred to trade or law, and other genteel professions. They are well informed, and their manners, dress,  
and

and mode of living, is as English as possible in their climate. The great body of the people is in the country a yeomanry, which (as the lands gavel amongst all the children) has each his several possession in fee. In towns it consists of shop-keepers, substantial artizans, and the families of sea-faring people of all kinds. Several of the first people keep coaches, and the number of two-wheel chaises, some drawn with two horses abreast, met on the roads, is unequalled in any part of Europe I have seen. The elegance of their make, gilding, and painting, near Philadelphia, shews the advances of that city. As a militia had been established, which at least gave them the advantage of a division into corps; as near 30,000 of that militia had been embodied and marched, and most of them on actual service of some sort during the course of last war; and a great number of the inhabitants, natives, as well as Europeans, had served in our's, or in foreign armies, the country ought not to be deemed incapable of a regular resistance. Since the present breach they have formed an army distinct from the militia, depending on the congress, and not on any particular province.

The Massachusets being the settlement which came first to maturity, its people spread into the others in their infancy, as the New Englanders do now into the provinces of Nova Scotia

Scotia and Mayne, probably not in such numbers. Though the descendants of the emigrants are now confounded with the mass of people, with whom they have settled, and have even taken up their prejudices against the Yankees, as they term the New-Englanders, yet their opinions have spread with them. Hence, as well as from the continued emigration, their's has become (taking all the colonies together) the predominant religious sect. The principal tenet which distinguishes the *Independents*, or *Congregationalists*, from other professors of calvinism, is the holding each congregation to be a complete church. They look on presbyterian government as a yoke, to speak in the stile of some of them, which they nor their fathers were not able to bear.

Of this persuasion is the body of the people in all New England, being descendants of those English nonconformists who emigrated in the course of the last century; for the church of England people and quakers made but a small proportion. To this extraction the names, speech, and manners, as well as religious tenets, give evidence. The fashion too of their oldest houses, gardens, and orchards, recall the remembrance of the Old English farm houses.

As every one under the governor concerned in their legislation is a creature of the people,

ple, their governments are very democtatical. Even the governors in Connecticut and Rhode Island are chosen annually. Over these two, being but secondary colonies from Massachusetts, England (if she had none but her allegorical title to supremacy) could claim only as grandmother, Scotland (for before the union she was only a distant relation) as stepmother. Every householder almost having a vote at elections, and used to be well acquainted with his representative, (as they pronounced it) the idea of virtual representation was entirely estranged from them; and the members getting their seats not by purchase or family interest, the voice of the assembly is the voice of the people. This gives to the assemblies throughout all the provinces an authority which no name without it can.

Not only roads, towns, villages, and inns, but the frequency and capaciousness of the meeting-houses, evidence the population; and the neatness and repair of the latter mark an exemplary attention to them. The generality of the buildings are of frame work; several of them not only shew the comfortable circumstances of their owners, but aim at stile and decoration. A ride up the river Merimack, and in general up the banks of Connecticut river, furnishes a most pleasing prospect to those who are delighted with the appearance of rural felicity



licity distributed amongst numbers. Whatever ideas we may entertain of the gloominess of their turn, the females are as fond of frolicks (as they call any parties of pleasure) as any of their sex in Europe. Sunday, indeed, passes with a tedious restraint on those who are not fond of prayers, long sermons, and psalmody; but, after the manner of the Jews, it ends at sun-set.

The people near the sea, all bred to some sort of bartering, are shrewd, and charged with over-reaching; a charge, however, which strangers have some reason to make in all places. Up the country, the simplicity of manners corresponded with their mode of speech: to this simplicity many young women fell sacrifices, when the army (the first ever seen there) marched through New England to Albany. Unused to expressions of love from any who had not matrimonial intentions, and in a country where those intentions were by custom indulged with very great liberties,\* no wonder if conquests were easily made by those, for whom the then general prejudices spoke strongly even to some of the married women. From the common soldiers it is not to be expected

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\* The lovers, when their parents agreed to the match, were allowed to retire to a bed with their clothes on: this is called Bundling.—Certainly a more convenient situation for expressing their fondness than before company.

pected they always met with the most tender returns, or the most advantageous notions of European connection ; and their own ideas of equality prevented them at first from seeing the distance in fortune and manners between the officers and private men.

In the Massachusetts, Indian corn supplies the place of wheat, which, not growing well in that soil, their sea-port towns are obliged to Philadelphia for flour, though every other species of provision, animal and vegetable, abounds. This plenty is one cause why the fishermen prefer this coast for the residence of their families, to that of Nova Scotia, though so convenient to the fishing banks. The vicinity of Boston was another attraction. It was their market ; and trading to the West Indies and Europe, gave to the coasters rum, and every article they wanted, in exchange for their fish, lumber, oil, spermaceti, &c. for it is from this coast also, that the whalers have extended their fisheries.

Most of their linen and woollen for ordinary consumption is home-made by the women, even to the weaving. The northern Irish, who of late years have settled some townships, begin to make fine linens.

New York was peopled by the Dutch, whose language and manners are retained in a great part of the country, particularly about  
Albany

Albany, but are wearing off. Albany on the Hudson's river, though one hundred and twenty miles above New York city, has very large sloop's belonging to it. Several miles to the west of it, is a very considerable settlement of Germans, on a tract of land from them called the German Flats. The rest of the people are of a mixed extraction (a few of Swedish and French, but now *Englified*) and variety of sects : but the followers of the church of England are numerous, and many of them, being gentry, have great weight. This colony being the nearest to New England, and having disputes with it about the boundaries, prejudices, and jealousies, like those between rival nations, have subsisted between the people.

What has been said of the people of New York may be said of the Jerseys, only they have more Germans and fewer Dutch.

In Pennsylvania the Germans make a third of the people, and are in some places so numerous and unmixed, that news-papers, &c. are printed in that language : they have great variety of manufactures amongst them. German Town, within six miles of Philadelphia, is a colony of stocking-makers.\* The north  
of

\* The Moravian settlement at Bethlehem, seventy miles north-west from Philadelphia, is an object worthy of the curiosity of the traveller, not only on account of its buildings and situation, but  
its

of Ireland emigrants have greatly contributed also to people this province; they attach themselves to the independents: so that, although the Germans are numerous, the quakers, who were at first the ruling sect, and independents divide the interests; and of late the latter (new comers generally falling in with them) have taken the lead. The members of the church of England are pretty numerous, and Sir William Pen's comprehensive plan brought people of every religious denomination. To give some idea of the inland population in this province, the county of Lancaster,

its manufactures, and the exactness of the Moravian discipline: three hundred families are conducted with the œconomy of one. The young people are kept in one great barrack, which has a chapel, schools, and workshops, where all are taught whatever their directors think most suitable to their genius: and in work, meals, distribution of their beds, and even in their devotions, a truly German military precision is observed. In chapel, the males sit on one side, the females on the other: each bench moves in and out in its own place in a single file, every person keeping his or her interval exactly. Their methods are the same at Lydiat's Town, near Lancaster, but it is not so considerable as at Bethlem.

Another sect, called Dunkers, or Dumplers, though not so numerous, are more singular. In some doctrines they are Lutheran; in the notions of the Lord's Supper, they are Calvinists, and some tenets they have peculiar to themselves: they deny the eternity of punishments, saying, they will be proportioned to crimes: they preach strongly in favour of celibacy, but do not deny marriage to any of their young people, only oblige them to quit the community, and settle apart. Their preaching seems to have a contradictory effect; for the married Dunkers spread fast, still, however, retaining the patriarchal dress, and long beards, and coming to religious services, and love-feasts. They are as distinguished by their industry and rigid frugality, as by their dress, apparel, furniture, and food, being all of their own make or growth, as if they meant to shew to the Americans how much they have it in their power to live without any thing *foreign*.



Lancaster, in the year 1765, had fourteen thousand freeholders, (indeed all who occupy farms have the fee.) Lancaster, the county town, seventy miles from Philadelphia, had one or two breweries, a glass-house, a number of shops stocked with shop goods; besides those of mechanics, particularly saddlers: plenty of bark inviting all sorts of workers in leather. On the roads, waggons drawn by four, five, and six very large horses, are continually passing. Their business is carrying that flour to Philadelphia, which is afterwards exported to all parts of the world. Another considerable town, Carlisle, is sixty miles farther up the country.

The people in general of the five southern colonies, are a mixture from Great Britain and Ireland. The Virginians near the sea were as early English settlers as the New-Englanders. To Pennsylvania the internal parts of all the southern provinces are much indebted for inhabitants; for some are purchased out and pushed forwards by the superior industry and frugality of others. Some make a trade of selling their improved land, and purchasing a larger extent of new ground (for the great grantees make money of their land by selling, not by letting). The labourers who have saved something, and young couples (and all marry young) who cannot be provided for, near their families, go forward also, and purchase lands in the interior parts of the country. By these means the  
Irish

Irish and the Germans have spread through all the back parts of Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas. I put the Irish first, because the frugal Germans more frequently purchase them out.

In these southern colonies the church of England takes the lead; but the independents are numerous. The Roman Catholics in Maryland, tho' its first settlers, are become considerable.

The negro slaves always fare worst where they are most numerous, of course their condition is harder in the southern provinces, where every rich planter keeping a number, they make a great part of the people. Northward their numbers decrease, so as to be inconsiderable in New England; and being domestic there and to Pennsylvania inclusive, they live as well as other servants, and often as the family which keeps them. Among the Dutch, about Albany, the eldest negro looks on himself as interested in the œconomy of house and land as his master, and takes a proportionate authority while the Dutchman, leaving the affairs of the family to his prime minister, smokes his pipe.

In an extent of country, running through so many (thirteen) degrees of latitude, the climate varies greatly; but throughout, the winters are incredibly more severe than in the same latitudes in Europe: for example, at Philadelphia,

Philadelphia, which is more south than Naples, the Delawar is frozen over every winter. The summer here is disagreeably warm, and sometimes unhealthy ; but it is much more so in Virginia, &c. In New England the severity of winter is too lasting, so that the climate of New York and the Jerseys, taking the year round, seems to me the most agreeable. The latter has every thing which earth, sea, rivers, a flourishing and populous neighbourhood, and a commodious situation between New York and Philadelphia, can afford for pleasure or convenience, except wine ; to bring which to any perfection the attempts even in the Carolinas have hitherto failed. The fruit that requires walls in England, grows on standards at New York.

It is plain the opposition to the execution of the late acts of parliament was from general consent : for in no country was justice administered with more ease, nor any where greater appearance of a regular police, more perfect security, fewer crimes heard of, or nuisances seen, nor so large a proportion of the people living so comfortably. Their regulations, in respect of fire, are so good, that though so many of the buildings are of wood, few of them are consumed, and even when they are most things valuable are saved. At New York some of the richest attend with bags on the first alarm for

for that purpose. Their poor are provided for every where. In the country parts of New England, the few there, as they fall on the township, are put up to auction: whatever responsible person undertakes to maintain them for least money, receives them into his family.

The convicts have generally been sent to the southern colonies, because there is the best market for them; but they make so small a proportion, and are so dispersed, that they and their vices are soon lost.

England gave the fashions; and part of the cloathing and furniture, of all who could afford it, was from hence. At an horse-race in the Jerseys, the appearance of the yeomanry was nearly like that of the farmers, their wives, and daughters, in Lancashire or Yorkshire. Even the Germans were Englisfying in manners as well as habits; for where lands are so easily got, that rigid industry does not last to the third generation. We profited by the little luxuries of this class of people more than we should by those of the great. Our own vulgar prepossessions were not stronger in favour of every thing English than their's. It was common even at Boston, within the memory of most people, to hear the natives call England *home*.

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The English tongue is spoken well in all the great towns, but preferably in Philadelphia; an advantage owing, perhaps, to the quakers, who every where pique themselves on a singular purity of speech.

What I have said, by way of digression, is by no means an attempt to describe so many and so various countries as these twelve colonies include, much less to give any idea of their numerous improvements, as well as natural beauties, or enter into the particularities of their government or trade; but, in general, to point out their circumstances, and to ask, why a people so divided (for the Independent interest is rather a cause of jealousy out of New England, than of union) in situation, origin, sects, and even by antipathy, living most happily, and sensible of it, should make so general an opposition to a nation which they loved, expose an extended sea coast to the most formidable naval power? a straggling frontier to savages and Canadians, and the habitations of the most wealthy to the ravages of their own slaves? Nothing could have brought them to it but one common principle, and a persuasion of right.

America, during the violence of party in the last century, being the asylum of nonconformists, it is not surprizing that they adhered, to the tenets of their own, or the Whig party. Nor is it very

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surprizing

surprizing if the other emigrants, though not of their cast, even the cavaliers of Virginia, should have adopted their political principles. That party was looked on as their support against the then all-claiming power of the crown. It was the most violent opposer of France, which, through Canada and the Indians, was the only enemy they dreaded. One of those tenets was, that no freeholder, or freeman, ought to be taxed, but by his own, or his representatives, consent. Another was, that resistance is in some cases justifiable. Ever since the revolution, these opinions were so little discouraged in the colonies, that whoever expressed them most zealously, was reckoned the best friend of the new establishment of the crown. Hence the idea of loyalty to the king was associated to those principles, and a belief that none but enemies to him could have any other. It will therefore be only imitating that conciliating spirit which adds to the merit of Mr. Hume's History of England, to make those allowances now for the principles of the New-Englanders, which, when he wrote, he thought it just to make for those of the Roman catholics and high prerogative men of the last century.

They may be charged with having ideas of the peoples rights, too precise for our enlarged system; the free forms of government which they have been  
suffered

suffered to enjoy, no matter whether through necessity or neglect; and breathing the same air with the freest people on earth, the Indians of North America were of themselves sufficient to inspire such: but no people shewed a more zealous affection for the king in public or private. He was always spoken of with respect and affection: his health constantly drank at the tables of the gentry; and the idea of the lower people, through the business of the stamp act, was, that if the king knew how loyal they were, and was rightly informed, he would take their part. Those who have been reckoned their leaders, have been too fond of their popularity, to throw out any thing antimonarchical.

It is not of Mr. Adams, or Mr. Otis, I shall ask; but I will ask the friends of government; I will ask those gentlemen who are now suffering in their fortunes, because they do not chuse to join in the resistance, how many in all the assemblies voted or spoke in favour of the right of parliament to tax? or which of them protested against the most violent resolves to the contrary? Yet these assemblies were generally composed of the best men of the country, many of whom wished to keep peace. Surely some would have had spirit to avow their opinion, and set their countrymen right, even if the general insurrection had been foreseen

foreseen, which it is pretended it was not : but if the insurrection was not foreseen, the disposition of the people ought. Burning the governor's coach at New York, in the time of the stamp act, was no equivocal mark of the disposition of the New-Yorkers. If government had so many friends, why did not they stir themselves ? there were no Connecticut men to awe them. I do not mention this by any means to justify the outrages and insolences in consequence of the act ; but to shew the disposition to resist was not confined to New England.

To return, when men will not obey through sense of duty, it is in vain to disguise ; they must be wrought on through fear ; when they hesitate, persuasions backed by force have the best effect in deciding them. The only alternative is to command nothing against the principles of those we would rule, or to accompany our commands with a force that leaves as little doubt of our determination as of our power ; otherwise we tempt resistance.

When we made a second essay of taxation, and a requisition,\* which must bring the Americans to a point, was added, viz. that to rescind a resolution of their assemblies to correspond, our neglect in the first was a lesson by which we should have profited, and we should have prepared a force.

We

\* They did not comply. It was therefore either weakly made, or weakly dropped.



We have brought matters to a crisis, which, at the time of passing the act, we should have foreseen; and at the time of making the requisition, we ought to have expected. Whilst we are in a temper which engages not the love of the colonists, I fear we are in a situation which commands not their respect. If we are successfully resisted, we are dishonoured; if obeyed, any submission we owe them into will be precarious and short. We cannot go on with any reasonable prospect of advantage, nor well go back without inconsistency: to extricate ourselves with dignity requires consideration.

Whether we have a right to tax the colonies is now become an idle speculation. The question is, whether it be good policy to force them to submission? I hold it is not, and this on the following principles.

The opposition of the Americans does not arise from cabal, caprice, or pretence of disability to pay (in their own way they always professed a readiness to make every requisite provision for government) but from a persuasion, that they cannot by right be taxed without their actual consent. In this principle, as well as in that of resistance, and in all those  
which

\* We took the middle way. On petition of merchants on this side, we repealed every part of the most obnoxious act, except that which laid a duty on tea, keeping the principle, and, of course, the odium, and relinquishing the profit.

which are called Revolution Principles have they been educated, and look on it as the basis of that liberty in which they glory. Any tax otherwise laid, must therefore be levied as contributions are in an enemy's country. To excite such a people, no cabal was necessary: letting them know the attack would be made, was a signal to put them on their defence. When the friends of government told them their wings would be clipped, when we shewed, by holding out our *virtual* representation, we meant to be absolute masters of their purses; we fired the beacon ourselves. Our new Militia and Admiralty regulations, coming at the same time, took not the appearance of measures for enforcing the trade laws, much less for the security of the colonies, but merely as secondary parts of this great plan.

Though they deny our right to tax them, they do not deny a constitutional (as they call it) supremacy of Parliament, viz, such a one as is necessary to connect the various branches of the empire under one head, to make particular interests give way to general ones, and to regulate trade; and to whatever lengths in speech the spirit of opposition may have carried some, none uttered a wish for independence.

At the same time that those political articles of faith are founded on the interest of  
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the colonies, Britain can impose none more beneficial to herself.

The accession of such an empire as North America will be, when fully peopled, (or long before) would be no advantage to Britain. United “*æquo jure*,” it must preponderate, and Britain become the appurtenance, or, like the frog in the fable, burst in the contention. Under our present form of government, so distant a representation would be attended with insuperable inconvenience.

If they are ruled as provinces conquered, they must be reduced to that invidious subjection in which the provinces of democratical states have generally been kept : their most \* honourable offices will be looked on only as a provision for the most worthless friends of the ruling party, and their treasure swallowed up by † non-resident placemen and pensioners for whom the minister is ashamed to provide at home.

These appendages may be called an addition to the grandeur of the empire : they will be  
none

\* When the first punie war with the Romans began, the nobles of Carthage had lost all their authority with the people by their squabbles for lucrative employs, (“*Magistratus*,” as they are called in the Latin translation of Polybius, &c.) and the provinces were only looked on as means of gratifying the avidity of individuals : hence it is, that we do not find any of these provinces strongly attached to Carthage in her distress.

† The substitutes of those placemen, ever hungry, having nothing to support them but what is squeezed from the people, become odious, make the office itself contemptible, and, of course, lessen every authority under which they act.

none to the security, happiness, or glory, of Britain. And to the colonies, if they are ruled by force, the absolute command of the king would be more honourable, and, probably, beneficial.

Under the arbitrary government of one person, the subject is not more master of person or property in the capital, than in the most remote provinces: but when one people rules another, the distinction is too invidious to be tamely borne. In trading states, the constant intercourse will present that distinction daily.

Governors loved by the people, will through jealousy be removed: bad ones will often be supported by a minister, or party; for the worst of men find shelter in party, if their crimes make them considerable. The people sue for redress in vain, till, irritated beyond measure, they endeavour to shake off the yoke: if successful, become enemies; if conquered, willing instruments to reduce those, who called themselves masters, to their own condition.

Men, vested with an almost sovereign power over mighty provinces are dangerous subjects of a free state. Even under the strong controul of a sultan, none are entrusted with remote governments who have not been taught to kiss the bow-string.

It



It was almost ridiculous to expect, that a Cæsar, or Pompey, who enjoyed more real power than kings, would contentedly descend to the equality of private senators, or be controuled by the ordinary magistrates of Rome. That state, whose policy extended to the preserving as well as the making of conquests, and which had the art of teaching the conquered to glory in becoming its subjects, yet knew not how to guard against the fatal effects of a too extended dominion. Had the Romans limited their acquisitions to Italy, they would not so soon have given themselves a master, continued so long the sport of a succession of tyrants, and at length have seen the seat of empire transferred to the borders of Asia, and Rome left a prey to the Goths and Monks.

If Carthagenian avidity had contented itself with a moderate extent of territory, and if that republic had conquered only to make free, liberty and Carthage would have longer stood upon the African shore, and not have expired without leaving a vestige of punic glory on it. Macedon conquered a great empire, and became a little province of its own king.

All agree, it was fortunate for England, that her kings did not add France to their dominion, as well as to their title.

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The

The nature of our government is unfit for foreign dominion. Ministers, and members of parliament, are too much occupied with domestic politics, to attend duty to remote ones ; and the former seldom have authority enough to rule with dignity abroad. The creature of a minister, filled with obloquy at home, must " let down" the office he holds abroad, or become a tyrant, and make up in fear what is wanting in respect, "*oderint dum metuant.*" We must, therefore, resolve to alter the form of it, when we resolve to extend our dominion.

But why do I say the unfitness of it will make it necessary to change ; in that moment in which the House of Commons exercises as unlimited a right of representation over the colonies as over Britain. If the government be not an oligarchy, with respect of the empire, I know not by what name to call it. A few families, by making themselves masters of the elections of one part of the empire, will enrich themselves with the spoils of the other, become dangerous or necessary to the king himself, and leave the people nothing to wish, but that he may crush them also.

When France, Spain, Greece, &c. were added to the Roman empire, it was impossible the republic could stand. A senator who had not a government, looked little amongst  
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the nabobs of those days. Its once respectable magistrates were not only eclipsed by, but became the subalterns of, a Pompey or a Cæsar; and the lands of Italy, that nurse of heroes, became the sporting grounds\* of a few rich provincials, or Romans, enriched by the provinces. Beggars, fed from the sportula, freed men, and † slaves, took the place of a numerous, warlike, and principled yeomanry. Livy speaks with admiration of the numbers of men, Rome could turn out in the early times of the republic. "Scarce at this time, says he, could that city which the world is not able to contain, levy such a force were the enemy to appear before it."

The colonies, therefore, stood in the best relation to us in which they can stand, viz. each within itself a distinct state, but as part of a great commercial empire depending on Britain, and bound by her laws in all matters relating to trade; knowing ‡ no limit of the authority of her parliament but its own usages; acknowledging the same King, and unable to make any laws without his consent; glorying in a subordination

\* Nunc modus hic Agri unoq; vix sufficit horto.

Juv.

† Every man of fortune had an "Ergastulum, or workhouse," filled with slaves.

‡ They made no Opposition to those Acts that are quoted as similar to the Act imposing a duty on tea, &c. because none of them appeared to have the raising a revenue as its end.

dination, which not only preserved individual independence, but bound the dependant state, not by force, but by the stronger ties of affection and of interest. Their assemblies were our securities, as well as of the colonists, and the natural aids of a just government. Were that ~~this~~ country under governors, and deprived of its assemblies, we should seldom have impartial accounts of the state of things in it.

These are not the only objections to forcing a submission. To maintain a sovereignty there by force, will exhaust our men. It would not be risking much to affirm, that furnishing even the sea coasts with garrisons for support of government and the revenue, would be a greater drain of men from this country, than the so much complained of emigrations.\* Every regiment sent over, in some measure destroys its own purpose: it gives recruits to their manufactures, and adds strength to the country it was intended to awe. Relieve never so often, some will be left behind. The circumstances of a British soldier do not put him above the temptation of a certain settlement for himself and

\* Requisite garrisons of foreigners may not be always got at the times they will be most wanted. They cannot be relieved from England. The winding such a force into the constitution, supposing its fidelity amongst the Americans incorruptible, is not likely to be a desirable improvement.



and family, if a tradesman; and the corps, while they are losing the military pride and discipline carried from Europe, are only conveyancers of every improvement in that art to the Americans.

Great Britain must often be at war with her neighbours. If America is to be ruled by force, she will at such time distract our attention; and, instead of assisting, will employ a considerable part of that force which should act against the enemy, or will throw off the yoke. If we only maintain such a supremacy as is consistent with their principles. In war they will voluntarily exert themselves for this country, and that in a part of the world where we can effectually annoy our enemies,\* the sugar islands. A million expended by them this way, will pay the revenue of many years.

In time of peace our clear gain in revenue will not balance our loss in commerce. Beside our troops, forts, artillery, &c. are to be kept up: much must be really expended; as much more would be put into the pockets of individuals: additional ships and revenue officers must be employed: the latter at least are seldom long settled before they make a merit of being genteel.

Their

\* Those states which are so situated, with respect to us, as to be dangerous to our independence, as well as rivals in trade.

Their means of paying for our manufactures will be lessened, the consumers, and the will to consume, when those strong prejudices in favour of England are gone, will be diminished. Without this will nothing can insure the consumption of the manufactures of one nation in preference to those of another, but their superior goodness and cheapness. Spain by force monopolizes the commerce of almost South America, &c. yet scarce deserves the name of a trading nation. The Germans in Pensylvania shew they can do without us; for they scarce consume any thing European: the others will follow their example. I say the consumers will be diminished; because the more we draw them out of their democratical state, the more shall we diminish the yeomanry, and no class of men take off so much of the English staple commodities as a rich yeomanry. An increase of that class in Ireland would make a very sensible change in all the manufactures of England; near nine tenths of the people of that country are never clad, but with the coarsest woollens and linens of their own manufacture.

If the people are disposed to defraud the revenue, neither our armed ships, nor any number of soldiers we can send, will be sufficient on a coast so extended and swarming with craft of all kinds. Our care is set at defiance on the coast of Suffex, where no man disputes  
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the right or expedience of our revenue laws. High duties which they will think not imposed for their own sakes, will dispose them all to defraud. Every man on the coast will be a smuggler, and foreign commodities get a general introduction. Our own officers will drink smuggled liquors, and, in summer, be clad from top to toe in French manufactures.

It will, therefore, be right to make it the interest of each colony to raise any duty to which they may hereafter submit. This may be done, in some measure, (supposing each duty applicable to the support of government) by having every deficiency made good by the colony, and every overplus carried to its account.

Why were the colonies so much attached to this nation? It was not only because most of their people sprung from hence, or that with her they have superior advantages in trade: it is because they did and expect always to enjoy more freedom in conjunction with her than with any other.

The best band of their affection, is their much-loved liberty. If we suffer this liberty to operate, it will render us more necessary. Had we not raised a general opposition, beside the jealousy between neighbouring colonies, each being a sort of republic, would have had a division within itself. Britain would be  
sure

sure of both parties, as each would here find a corresponding one to espouse it. Those divisions would always present to them the ill consequence of losing their connection with Britain, the only common centre of their union.

These considerations have made me alter an opinion, which, before I was acquainted with the colonies, I entertained, viz. that this republicanism led directly to independence, and, filled with Roman ideas of domination, thought it glorious to rule by force. But “*Tu regere imperio populos Romane memento*” was said to the Romans after they had lost their own liberty. I now think this very republicanism will attach North America to Britain (if content with such a supremacy as she has hitherto assumed) after the South shall revolt, or be conquered from Spain. Spain, however, has this advantage, that the power of the American Spaniards is balanced by the natives, the Portuguese, and other Europeans.

From any circumstances handed down to us, in respect of the colonies of the ancients, no apt conclusions can be drawn. The Greek colonies in Italy and Sicily formed independent states; so did the Tyrian at Carthage. The Roman colonists had conquered lands given to them, on which they were placed as garrisons to keep the conquered in awe, and;  
of



of course, furnished quotas for war, but cannot be supposed to have taken any share in paying the tribute.

The age is not very remote, when there will be a physical impossibility for any one nation in Europe to maintain, by any means but consent, a sovereignty over that continent. The best policy must be to keep their affections.

To me there seems to be no medium; we must rule the colonies on their own principles, or effectually enslave them, and abolish their assemblies, juries, and liberty of the press. This may be consistent for a Spanish government; it is putting the subject in both hemispheres on the same footing.

The glory of God was an avowed object of James the First; strange he should have thought of advancing it by Puritans; but "*Lucri bonus odor*," he expected gold mines also. To extend our commerce, and to prevent our rivals availing themselves of these countries, were the principles on which we continued to colonize. I give no merit to our forefathers for carrying their views no farther; but I think it fortunate they did not. These are the only wise principles on which we should have any connection with the continent of North America.

The policy which prevailed in Europe since Elizabeth's time is now reversed. The nations of the South promote and encourage manufactures; England is hunting for treasures in America; in a part too, where they are not the natural bounty of the earth, but must be forced from the vitals of the people. The French ministry have, probably, seen the little advantages of remote territorial acquisitions, and have, with their accustomed dexterity, preserved their islands, leaving the continental dominions to Britain, and to Spain. Though, from her population, France is a fitter stock to graft them on than either.

Difficulties in the execution should also be attended to: I see little difference in the effect of a continental war in Europe and in America, except on trade, or between making a descent on the latter, or on Barbary, or the coast of Italy, except that the Americans are a more expert as well as remote enemy, than the Italians or Moors. We should not form our ideas from what we saw of the provincial troops last war: that war has been their school, and beside their own, has given them a great number of European soldiers. I will appeal to officers of the regiments (the 44th in particular) which went over in the beginning of it, and were obliged to recruit in America, if some of their best men before the  
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the conclusion were not Americans. The provincial regiments were generally bad, because only engaged for a year, they went as soon as levied into the field, without any previous preparation as soldiers, and under officers in general of no distinction, and as raw as themselves.

Epaminondas in *Plutarch*, speaking to the Thebans, says, " It is not only the country " between Eurotas and Mount Taygetus, (La- " conia) which produces brave men, but every " country where the love of virtue and of dis- " cipline is taught."

To reduce the colonists by force would require another war both expensive and precarious: tho' we burned their towns and ravaged their coasts, we should in a little time waste ourselves; and the ruins of our crusadoes to the west, will only serve to fill the chasms made by their own depredations. But, if we begin a war, the most vigorous measures will be the most sensible, because the most likely to bring it to an end. Puny attempts tend only to discredit the troops; teach the colonists a contempt of our hostilities; by protracting the war, will familiarize them to their new government, and new wants, or open channels for the supply of the latter; and will at length interest so many in the separation, that the longer we postpone, the more remote we

we shall find a reconciliation. War in itself is not a political evil, against the enemies of king, country, religion, or laws, or against rivals in fame; it calls forth the noblest powers of the mind, and heightens every social virtue: mutual losses too are compensated by each other; but where there are no such apparent objects; if it excites rancour or avarice, jealousy or fear, where affection was, it must have the worst effect on the minds, as well as fortunes, of men.

“ That the colonies cannot be taxed, except by their own consent, is not the creed of a faction or party only; it is the general voice of all orders of men in America.”

“ They have hitherto gloried in their dependence on Britain, and to whatever lengths of speech opposition may have carried some, none of them ever threw out a wish for independence.”

*To say they have no idea of independence now, would be asserting too much: on the contrary, it is possible; they all believe they have no alternative but that of endeavouring to be independent, or of submitting to any tax or form of government we shall please to impose.*

That these were their opinions, and that the parliament has a constitutional supremacy, no man disputed. Their submission to a regulation



tion of their trade was constantly urged as a full subscription to their share of the public burdens.

Let not therefore a mistaken pride betray us into a conduct, the most flattering consequence of which is to enslave many valuable members of a state, which we wish to call free. Let us make a benefit of what will one day become a necessity. Let the Americans continue to feel their condition better under the authority of Britain, than if they were their own masters. To make it worse, because we may imagine our's so, without benefitting ourselves demonstrably, would be only to act the part of the Devil, who wished to make mankind miserable, because he was so himself. Their dependence has hitherto been a blessing: when they cease to consider it as such, the government of that country will become an embarrassment; better for us that it should be independent.

Any riches it acquires must be through commerce and encrease of people. The moment it is able to give us essential assistance in revenue, that moment will it be able to dispute any thing, which it does not consent to give.

What then have we to do, but to suspend or repeal as soon as we can, without dishonour, our laws made for the purpose of raising

ing a revenue, and for the future confine ourselves to those of regulation. Such laws can never affect all the colonies alike, and, therefore, if even misjudged, cannot have the ill effect of a general law for laying a tax. For the enforcing of them, we cannot have any security so good as that of their being consented to, and our right of making them acknowledged by their assemblies. Men will not take arms against acknowledged rights.

Better for Parliament not to tamper with internal matters. Specious reasoning may lead and defend our proceedings, but will never gain confidence in an assembly (whose integrity is the most unquestioned) if not supposed to feel for the interest of the country which is the subject of our resolves; or to understand thoroughly the interests and relations of its several governments, as much as possible should be left to ministers who have made this their peculiar study, who would rather depend on periodical indemnifications for such errors as humanity is liable to, than make Parliament a stalking horse, who will endeavour to direct the machine by its internal movements, though complex. External force, from its simplicity, may give a prospect of ease, and accelerate the motion, but will certainly make it fly out of its direction. Montesquieu says, there are certain ideas of uniformity

formity which sometimes catch men of genius, but are sure to take possession of little minds. Whoever is affected by these, will never be contented to carry on the business of a mixed government. It will seldom be necessary for the supreme power to say more than " *Nolumus leges coloniarum mutari.*" It should be reserved for the most important occasions, " *Nec Deus intersit nisi dignus vindice nodus,*" and then take full time to enquire and to decide. Even decency requires more deliberation in altering a form of government than changing the direction of a turnpike road. We should shew the assemblies we have not only an opinion of their knowledge of the subject, but a confidence in their integrity and attachment: they themselves would in that case point out the best means for adjusting any subject of jealousy, on an equitable plan. It is but fair to judge favourably of men, who we know have heretofore had the strongest prejudices in our favour.

It may be asked, how is the expence of protecting the colonies to be supported?

Be at no expence; they are not only able to support themselves, but to give material assistance against our enemies.

Should they not bear a proportion of our burdens?

Sub-

Subjecting their trade to us, is bearing a part; and they would, on his Majesty's requisition, on any liberal plan, probably, take a regulated quota. But is it not also a proper question to ask, are we less able to bear those burdens by having that sort of connection which we heretofore had?

Ought not gratitude to oblige them to submit?

This is the first instance of a tax being laid on gratitude, or of ingratitude being declared *High Treason*, otherwise, God knows where rebellion would end. What they owe us, in this respect, is a nice question: and I avoid all questions of right; but if the claim be from gratitude, make it first on that ground, and state the quantum; if you do not, leave it to myself. My refusal then will justify, what? my being called (if the claim is founded) ungrateful, and detested as such. The parliament thanked them after the war, and even refunded part of their expence.

Ill temper with governors, which must be expected from private interests and passions, sometimes from ignorance and mistakes, will produce angry expressions; but hitherto nothing has fallen from them, that was not respectful to king and parliament, and affectionate to the mother country. Their excesses, therefore, (though in no country firebrands  
are



are wanting) should be rather imputed to personal, than to public resentment. This I am convinced was the case on some occasions. It must irritate men to be represented as disloyal, who knew they glowed with loyalty to the king and affection to Britain; though after our own example, they speak with unbounded freedom.

But, however we disregard their opinions and principles, let us regard our own. The asserting of liberty has been the boast of Englishmen; to make a people we look on as brethren, even ideally slaves, must hurt our own pride; to be enraged at them, for being as jealous of their rights as we are, is inconsistent. Take the matter in any light we please, our principles, our honour, and our interest, forbid our forcing them.

If ever we are under a necessity of employing force in that country, we should make it appear, that, 'tis not thro' avidity or revenge, but merely to support the principles of our union: (viz. commerce, and keeping out foreigners) whilst we carry our views no farther, mutual jealousy would hinder the colonies, even were their affections weaned from us, from uniting to oppose that Supremacy, beyond which they can have no prospect but of confusion. But should the ambition of individuals, or of a particular province, so far prevail, as to unite them in opposition to our acknowledged claims;

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better

better to abandon them, than to attempt a total conquest. Against their injuries we must vindicate ourselves, as against those of any other enemy ; tho' by mutual loss and war, not to conquer but to bring to reason. But to quarrel on a point, which if gained, will advance neither our honour, nor our interest, is palpable quixotism.

“ In fine we have planted a tree in the  
 “ forest, we watered it with the dew of liber-  
 “ ty, and fenced it from the spoiler. It flour-  
 “ ished, took deep root, and is now fed with  
 “ the natural moisture of the earth. Had it been  
 “ our intention to prune it into any fancied  
 “ form, we should have begun when the shoots  
 “ were tender. It's mighty branches now re-  
 “ fuse the knife. The axe will deform them,  
 “ and turn it's own edge. Let us enjoy the  
 “ glorious prospect, and the merit of our own  
 “ work. Let us be satisfied with the sponta-  
 “ neous produce : any other will not repay  
 “ our labour. The goodly branches offer their  
 “ fruit : if we gather it without violence. If  
 “ we engage our hands in bending them : it  
 “ will fall into the lap of our rivals.”

Would it have disgraced the most high spirited Roman senate, in our circumstances, to have spoken to them, by a proper magistrate, in the following manner ?

“ This

" This nation hath extended her empire,  
 " not for dominion, but for liberty and com-  
 " merce ; she rules by affection, not by force.  
 " She who hath expended so much blood and  
 " treasure, to preserve the freedom of other  
 " states, will never enslave her own children.  
 " Their freedom is her glory ; their prosperity  
 " her interest. If she ever asserts her just  
 " authority, it will not be at the expence of  
 " either."

" The supremacy of the senate, is the bond  
 " of union, amongst the colonies themselves.  
 " Submission to it's authority their advantage  
 " and the infringers of it, their enemies, as much  
 " as of Britain. When their dependence shall  
 " not be a dependence of consent, it will be  
 " more a burden to her, than to them.

" To convince them and the world, that  
 " she acts from those principles, and to re-  
 " move the ill grounded jealousies of our con-  
 " scientious brethren, the Governors are enjoined  
 " to call the Assemblies, to make this de-  
 " claration ; and, to require each to point out  
 " the best mode of settling a civil and mili-  
 " tary establishment ; as well as of enforcing  
 " the Navigation, or any other regulatory  
 " act."

" As the Senate is certain, their delibera-  
 " tions on these subjects, will be directed by  
 " affection, duty, and the general good. Their  
 repre-

“ representations, will, I make no doubt, be  
 “ made the ground work of a perpetual esta-  
 “ blishment.”

A suitable return from the assemblies would be certain. A return, on which the repeal of the revenue laws may be founded ; for repealed they should be, not on the principle of right ; but, on that of ruling a willing people.

Coolness often subsists between friends, more for want of an advance, than from any intention to be at variance. The most powerful can at any time, with dignity remove the jealousy : and reconciled lovers spring together with double cordiality.

Whether this conduct, would not be most politic, as well as most magnanimous and just, the opinion of our rivals will decide ; I will venture to affirm that the French,\* would rather see us by force of arms lay a tax on America, that would wipe off half the national debt ; than encourage them, as we have heretofore done, and take measures for reforming our selves.

Take

\* The conduct of the French hitherto justifies what I have advanced, how far they will suffer us to go, is uncertain : but probably so far, as to keep us, continually in broils with the colonies. If French and Spaniards are jealous at the rising power of North America, they certainly are right to employ and encourage any nation that will take up the quarrel for them.



Take what course we will, the empire of America is growing too unwiedly to be managed without inconvenience, by a government, less embarrassed than ours.\* An empire so extended has never heretofore been conducted on a free plan : but, when nature, which has made that empire boundless, and placed the Atlantic between it and Britain. When education which has inspired into its inhabitants, the most confirm'd attachment to liberty, when our own principles, which make us believe, they have a right to be free, oppose our governing on any other, can we hesitate a moment, about adopting that side of the alternative, which tho' liable to some, is attended with the smallest inconveniences, and rejecting that the evident consequences, of which are destructive. A skilful physician helps, but does not oppose nature.

Since no practicable uniform System can be proposed, nor partial one maintained, consistently

\* I own that limiting the exercise of the supremacy of parliament, and leaving any one matter to another body independently is allowing an "Imperium in Imperio." But has not that sort of government existed, where it was inconvenient, and ill defined ; within the limits of England itself, for 400 years, viz. 'till the king was declared "head of the church." Does it not exist in respect of Ireland now. For if that country be dependent on a supreme power, which admits of no limitation, every distinction to shew why it ought not of right to be taxed by parliament is an evasion. If we abandon the right and plead the inconvenience of suffering the several colonies to tax themselves. Their answer is ready. A congress is easily assembled.

tently with our Constitution ; let them retain that dependence, to which they not only consent, but also to such corrections as will without violence make it answer our purposes as well as the most absolute.

The circumstances of our colonies are very different, a general law can scarcely ever be apt, except to unite them, in opposition. The West India Islands, and our newly acquired colonies, may need peculiar interpositions of Parliament. Popular clamour, has gain'd for the latter, an (I fear) premature taste for liberty, and a form of government, for which they are as yet unfit. At the same time, new plans for our old Colonies must be seen, in the invidious light of innovations.\*

The only inferences I shall make are, that by disclaiming the exercise of unlimited taxation, without mention of supremacy, we may at any time have quieted the minds of the Americans, or divided them.

That if we treat with them at all, on that point, 'tis tacitly giving it up, and we may have dis-

\* Mr. Grenville in the pamphlet entitled " regulations for the colonies, &c." says, " the reasonableness and necessity of requiring a revenue, being admitted, the right of the mother country to impose such a duty, (meaning the stamp duty) on her colonies *duly considered*, cannot be questioned.

Governor Bernard in his dispatches 1765, says, " It must have been supposed, such an innovation, as a Parliamentary taxation, would cause a great alarm, and meet with opposition : 'twas new to the people, and had *no visible bounds* set to it.

disclaimed it publicly with more dignity and more advantage.

That a fixed establishment for the governors; salary for life; for the judges (if appointed "*quandiu se bene gefferint*"); equitable sanctions for the laws of trade; and even a Tax, independent of their internal taxes, if the "*Quantum*," or rate, was fixed, (i. e. unalterable without their consent) and the Application ascertained; would be submitted to. As would other improvements of the relation in which the two countries stood: if we treated on a liberal plan, that is, as if we supposed they had any rights at all; or should be influenced by any other principle but that of the weakest submitting their judgment to the strongest; or ever be allowed to suppose any act of Parliament, in respect to them, could err; or, as if the whole body of the people were not to be treated with contempt, because we suppose some of those who represent them deserve it.

But if a succession of untoward events, no matter whence arising, have decided us to enforce absolute submission, the best use we can make of it, is to give such terms as the most reasonable among them in their prosperity proposed. Otherwise, though many of them may be found to accommodate their opinions to their expectations, at the expence of their countrymen, the government will become a  
government

government of force. And to “*vāh victis*,” we may add “*vāh victoribus*.” I always suppose the best intentions: but certain causes will produce certain effects, which it is out of the power of the best intention to avert.

To conclude, by the \* Authority of Parliament are the various branches of the Empire connected. Parliament is the regulator of commerce: it is the highest court of appeal, and natural arbiter of the differences which may arise between the colonies themselves, or between them and the ministers. In these benign and respectable lights only, has it in times past been viewed by the Americans. Difficulties would arise to make them wish for the interposition of a Parliament which carried its views no farther; and even to call for its decisions and its laws. There is no reformation we could wish to make, that time would not give an opportunity of making at their own instance: for, before a generation passes there will be numbers, rich and ambitious enough of honours, to court the introducing a new Order of men: but so accustomed

\* The assemblies have certainly been very cautious in expressing any acknowledgement of the supremacy; and when we reflect on the use made of their acquiescence with the Post office Act, and that imposing a duty on foreign molasses, &c. their caution is justifiable. But so acknowledged was the authority of parliament in regulation of trade, that till I enquired particularly, I believed it had been not only acquiesced in, but acknowledged by the Assemblies.



customed are the people of each government to have its interior oeconomy settled, and its taxes laid on by its own representatives, to look to its own assembly as its own legislature in either, and even to regard its sister colony as a separate state; that to turn any of those matters into another channel, will, in their eyes, be bringing about a revolution, a thing seldom attempted where the people are not better disposed to it than the Americans are.

However this contest may have heated them, I knew no subjects better attached to his Majesty's person, nor more zealous assertors of the glory of the English name. They can only be made enemies to both, by being treated as such. An arbitrary prince dares not give up a point. Under the greatest injuries, his people have no alternative but submission or despair; neither can a tyrannical republic, which means to exercise an unjust domination: But when the parliament of Great Britain decides in favour of liberty, it does so consistently, and with honour: for such decision has always the appearance of a compliance to its own, and to the principles of the nation.

If Britain has been aggrandized by her connection with the colonies, it was by its trading connection, and not by dominion. That trading connection she has in her power, were they even independent friends, by selling her

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manufactures

manufactures cheap. To bring this about, would be an enterprize much more beneficial, more popular, and more possible, than to effect a thorough subjugation of America.

The glory and prosperity of Britain depend more on her own internal management than is generally imagined. Her situation, ports, and products, make it a reproach to her policy to want the aid of foreign dominion. Her grandeur, raised on the firm basis of natural advantages, disdains a prop. If she knows not how to avail herself of them, in vain would all the riches of both the Indies be waisted to her shore: they would pass without nourishing. If we chuse to reform, it is at home we ought to begin. Here is exercise enough for the talents of a Minister.



F I N I S.

